

6. *British Rule and the Muslims in Bengal*, Dr A.R. Mullaie, 1961
7. *Dacca*, Dr A. H. Dani, 1962
8. *Atharrik Bangla Sahitya Muslim Sadhan*, Quzi Abdul Mannan, 1961
9. *Turkib-o-Muhassab Alia*, Abdus Sattar, 1959
10. *Rengul Past and Present*, 1914

N. A. Baloch

'Kohistan' literally means a 'mountainous region' and, as such, more than one areas in Pakistan are known by this general name of 'Kohistan'. The hilly tract extending from Karachi northward up to Sehwan is called 'Kohistan' by the people of Sind. Again the mountainous region covering the western part of the Hazara district extending northwards along the Indus as well as west-wards across Swat towards Dir and Chitral is all 'Kohistan'. Of this area, the region extending along the Indus is called the 'Indus Kohistan', while the country around the Upper Swat Valley of Kalim may conveniently be called as 'Swat Kohistan'. In this paper I will refer to the dialects of 'Swat Kohistan', which are comparatively less known among the dialects of Kohistan.

The writer does not claim an intimate knowledge of the dialects of 'Swat Kohistan'; but by this introductory paper proposes to invite attention of our learned scholars to the great need of studying the languages of this country. Arabic and Persian, being the repositories of the common cultural heritage of Pakistan, would continue to be studied by the Pakistani scholars. But the languages spoken by our own people, being the primary media for expressing their thoughts and feelings, provide the basis for our rich cultural variety and the very foundation of our national literature. Of these languages, the less known dialects need our special attention because of their philological and anthropological importance and also because of their importance in the local folklore and literature.

Literary Importance

The speeches of Kohistan are important both from philosophical as well as literary point of view. If some local scholar

undertakes to collect folk poems composed in these tongues, his efforts will be amply rewarded. The early romance of Aman Multk, of Kishkar with Khush Begum and the love poems composed by Aman Multk, seem to have started almost a chain reaction through Kohistan and, since then, a number of actual love stories have provided interesting topics for verbal tales as well as inspiring themes for poetry. Indeed, Swat Kohistan could as well be described as the 'land of lovers', and almost every lover was a poet in the bargain. I will quote some verses from *Turvali* and *Kulzmi* to illustrate the poetic genius of these mountain bards, which is so realistic and true to life.

درویٹ مالک دو گرتا ہے جو درن اور کے
میں میں لے مترے نے
He strikes the nail from outside the door to bar exit
The poor rival has kept my beloved safe from me.

The Less Known Kohistani Dialects

(b) *verses from Kalāmi* : About the nature of love, poet Dādor Khan says :

دیرما شیخانے گے ویریما لند

Other lovers rather got it (love) cheap
مشے آج دینے ملے ار لیدا

But I can't even see my friend although I pay the price.

The same poet describes how his beloved is being strictly guarded.

Even the door of the house is being kept locked by the mechanism of striking first a nail from outside the door.

¹ *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. III, part II, p. 2.
² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

Ibid. p. 3

attempted to study particularly the *Gujo*, and also became partly acquainted with *Kalāmī*. The geographical position of these two and some other dialects which are distributed along the Upper Swat Valley is being briefly described here. It may, however, be pointed that *Pashtu* is the *lingua franca* of Swat Kohistan.

- (1) *Turwāli*. The area of Turwāli begins from the town of Nādān (Swat State), extending northward on both sides of the Swat river to midway between Mankhīl village and the small Isret river which falls into the Swat river on the right hand side. Thus, starting from Nādān, the town of Bahrain and many other villages such as Kedam, Garhai, Cham, Kalā-Lai and Mankhīl as well as the adjacent neighbourhoods on both sides of the Swat river speak *Turwāli*.
- (2) *Gujo*. *Gujo* is the language of the Pishmal Valley which is sandwiched between the Isret and the Kāran Dukht—the two small tributaries of the Swat river on the right hand side. Pishmal valley is almost entirely inhabited by the Gujars who speak *Gujo*. Gujars scattered elsewhere on the mountain slopes flanking the Swat river, also speak *Gujo*, but the Pishmal valley is the home area of *Gujo*.
- (3) *Kālāmī*. Kālāmī valley which is the heart of Kohistan, is the main area of the Kālāmī language. It is also spoken, along with Pashtu on the left hand side of the Swat river opposite to the Pishmal valley.
- (4) *That-Lumī*. This language takes its name from That which is the main town of the Dir State. It is also known as Dir-wali. It is spoken along the western part of 'Swat-Kohistan'.
- (5) *Khāndīa*. It is the language of the Eastern part of 'Swat-Kohistan'. The Daaten mountain divides the *Khāndīa* speaking population from the Kishkīrī area.

Philological Importance

In absence of any systematic studies subsequent to the completion of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, conclusions arrived at by Grierson, regarding the nature and origin, philology and grammar of these Dardic languages and dialects, are of basic

importance for any further study of the subject. Grierson made it clear that 'Dardic' was only a general name which was being extended, for the sake of convenience, to all the Aryan languages spoken in the region of Dardistan.¹ On the basis of philological evidence, Grierson pointed that there was an unmistakable philological link between Sindhi, Lahnda and the Dardic languages.² This conclusion of Grierson has hardly been modified or advanced by later research. It is necessary that we may explore further the nature of this philological link, mainly to determine whether Sindhi and Lahnda are derived from Sanskrit or they have developed along with the Dardic languages, independently as a distinct 'Indus Valley Group'.

Grierson supported his view regarding an early philological link between Sindhi and Lahnda on the one hand the Dardic languages on the other, by pointing out their common characteristics of retaining 'r' in the past-tense and 'p' in the past-participle. For instance, from the verb 'to drink' the past tense in Sindhi will be *pito* (he drank), and in Lahnda (as well as in Panjabī which is influenced by Lahnda) it will be *pīn*. Some other examples in Sindhi are *warto* (he got), *sarto* (he became satisfied), *paro* (he made up the differences or he was entrusted to) etc. Similar examples in Lahnda and Panjabī are *sita* (he sew), *kita* (he did) etc. It may also be pointed that in the *Gujo* dialect of Pishmal valley, we find the same *t* preserved in past tense. For instance, from the verb *di-ana* or *di-na* (to give), past-tense will be *di-th*. Now the one typical peculiarity of Dardic is that the letter *t* when it comes between two vowels is not elided, but is kept without change. In all the Indo-Aryan languages and Indian Prakrits such a *t*, first became *d* and then disappeared. For example in Hindi-Urdu, we have these past tenses as *pīja* (he drank), *kīja* (he did) etc. Again, the past-participle in the Dardic languages, e.g. in the *Maīyan* dialect of Kohistan and also occasionally in *Shina* language of Gilgit, retains 't'. Thus in *Maīyan*, past-participle

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

² *Ibid.*, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 119-40.

from the verb 'hit' (strike) will be 'kul-ag-i' (struck). In Sindhi also we find every past-participle ending invariably in III e.g. *pir* (drunk), *kar-jal* (done), *mar-ji-at* (struck or killed) etc. Although this 'i' exists in the outer Indo-Aryan languages "we do not find anything like this in the inner sub-branch of the Indo-Aryan languages".¹

Apart from these typical philological similarities pointed out by Grierson, we find some very close linguistic similarities between Sindhi and some of these Dardic dialects of 'Swat Kohistan'. For instance, there is a striking resemblance between some prepositions of Sindhi and Turvali. In Turvali, we have 'in chi' (ئے جو) which in old Sindhi is *to ji* (ئے جو) meaning 'yours'. In Turvali, we will say 'Pir Baba gay' (پیر بابا جائے) which in Sindhi will be 'Pir Baba Khay' (پیر بابا خائے), meaning 'to Pir Baba' (Urdu : پیر بابا جائے).

Between Sindhi and Gujro, there is surprisingly such a close resemblance both in terminology and sentence structure that it appears as if Gujro is just another dialect of Sindhi. The following common characteristics are typical :—

(a) Both in Sindhi and Gujro, infinitives end in *n* or *ni* and are followed by small vowels but not by a long vowel as we have in Hindi or Urdu.

English	Sindhi	Gujro
To do	ka-na-nu	ka-na-na
	(کرنا)	(کرنا)
To drink	pi-ya-nu	pi-na
	(پینا)	(پینا)
To give	di-ya-nu	di-na, or di-a-na
	(ڈینا)	(ڈینا، دینا)

To sit	we-ha-nu	be-sa-na	baithni
	(ے جائے)	(بے سانا)	(بائٹنی)

(b) Both in Sindhi and Gujro, words signifying masculine gender end in <i>o</i> (ا), while those denoting feminine gender end in <i>ee</i> (اے).
English

a horse	ghorro	ghoro	ghoro
a mare	ghorree	ghorree	ghorree
a dog	kuto	kuto	kuto
a bitch	kutte	kutte	kutte
a he-cat	bilo	bilo	bilo
a she-cat	bilee	bilee	bilee
	(بیلے)	(بیلے)	(بیلے)
a rupee	rupayo	rupayo	rupayo
a roof	koutho	koutho	koutho
a thick eye-brow	bhioonto	bhioonto	bhioonto
the inside of the house	dero	dero	dero
	(دبرو)	(دبرو)	(دبرو)

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 139-40.

(c) There is also a close resemblance between the names of the numerals. It is particularly noteworthy that both Sindhi and Gujro have retained 'r ()' in *sorahn* (sixteen) which has changed into 'l' in other languages (e. g. *solah* in Hindi- Urdu).

English	Sindhi	Gujro
one	hiku	eka
two	ba	do
three	(፩)	tri
four	chtr	(፪)
five	panja	panja
six	chhicha/chha	chhicha
seven	(፭)	(፭)
eight	attha	(፮)
nine	snt-ta	snt-ta
ten	(፯)	(፯)
eleven		
twelve		
thirteen		
fourteen		
fifteen		
sixteen		
seventeen		
eighteen		
nineteen		
twenty		

nine	navan/naon	naon (نون)
ten	daba	daha (ده)
eleven	yarahn	yh-rahn (يارهن)
twelve	brrahn	bh-rahn (برههن)
thirteen	ter-rahn	te-rahn (ترہن)
fourteen	cho-dhan	chao-dhan (چوڈھن)
fifteen	pand-rahn	pand-rahn (پندرہن)
sixteen	sorahn	so-rahn (سورہن)
seventeen	snt-rahn	snt-rahn (سترہن)
eighteen	ar-rahn	athrahn (آرہن)
nineteen	connecth	athrahn (اٹھن)
twenty	ueeh	beeh (بیہ)

(d) Both Sindhi and Gujro have the same sentence structure and almost the same terminology. The following are the typical examples of some of the phrases and sentences in the two languages.

English	Sindhi	Gujro
good condition	changu htru	chango hal
I saw	moon ditho	men ditho
I had seen you somewhere	moon tokhay killhe ditho ho	men to kithle ditho tiho
rupee is in the box	rupayo sandoq men piyo ahey	rupayō sandoq men piyō
you may tie the string	dhago badhi jan	dhago badhe jan
	(دھاگو بادھی جان)	(دھاگو بادھی جان)
Beside the above similarities, there are many nouns which are common in the terminologies of Sindhi and Gujro (e. g. meenhan (مینھان) = rain ; kauthi (کوٹھی) in Sindhi and kauth (کوٹھ) in Gujro = wall ; sven (سون) = a piece of pasture). This very close philological relationship between Sindhi and the Dardic dialect Gujro suggests a common historical background of their development. Grierson does not recognise that either Sindhi or Lahnda is derived from any Dardic language but admits the foreign Dardic influence on these languages. ¹ It may be pointed out that in view of the philological and phonetic peculiarities of Sindhi, its geographical isolation, its distance from the Sanskrit orbit of influence, and the continuous subjection of the lower Indus Valley to the political influence and population migrations from the West rather than from the East, it is yet to be established whether Sindhi is derived directly and only from Sanskrit. ² The distinct nature of Sindhi, Lahnda, and the Dardic languages (of Kashmir, Kohistan and Gilgit) rather suggest that they owe their origin to the common stock of Aryan tongues spoken at the time of early Aryan settlements all along the Indus Valley. It has already been accepted that <i>Pahlavi</i> , the mother of the Dardic languages, "was a very ancient language, a sister, and not a daughter of the form of speech which ultimately developed as literary Sanskrit." ³ Sanskrit developed later on after the Aryans had left behind their early settlements on the Indus, and migrated eastward and began a new phase of their settled life. There, from the common stock of the "Indus Valley Languages" of the Aryans, originated and developed Sanskrit which, influenced the <i>Indus Valley languages</i> (Sindhi, Lahnda, Kashmiri etc.) in later times, mainly through some form of Pali Prakrit. However despite this influence, these languages have preserved their early group-affinity and also their philological phonetic originality to the present times.		

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 141, f.n. 1
² This subject has been discussed in details by the writer in a monograph on "A Brief History of Sindhi Language", the *Tulsi-e-Larkana*, Hyderabad, 1962.

³ G. Grierson: *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. viii, part-II, pp. 3-4.